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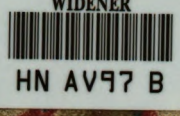

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REV. J. ADAMS'

ORATION

BEFORE

THE SOCIETY OF THE GRADUATES

OF

THE COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON,

S. CAROLINA.

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THE MORAL CAUSES OF THE WELFARE OF NATIONS:

AN ORATION,

DELIVERED 1ST NOVEMBER, 1834,

IN THE CHAPEL,

BEFORE

THE SOCIETY OF THE GRADUATES

OF

THE COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON.

BY REV. J. ADAMS,

President of the College of Charleston, S. Carolina; and (ex-officio) Horry Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy; Member of the Columbian Institute, held at Washington, District of Columbia; Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts' Historical Society, &c.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

Charleston:

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DECEMBER, 1834.

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CHARLESTON, Nov. 5, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

We have been appointed by the Society of the Graduates of the Charleston College, to express to you their thanks for the very admirable Discourse delivered before them on their late Anniversary, and at the same time to request a copy of it for publication.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity of tendering to you, the assurances of our high regard.

We have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your friends and
Obedient Servants.
J. A. ASHBY,
J. J. PRINGLE SMITH.

REV. PRESIDENT ADAMS.

COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON, 8th Nov. 1834.

To Messrs. JAMES A. ASHBY,
J. J. PRINGLE SMITH.

Gentlemen,—Your favor of 5th inst. in which I am invited to furnish a copy of my Oration before the Society of the Graduates of the College of Charleston for publication, is before me, and has received my most respectful attention.

I am gratified to find, that my Oration has given satisfaction to the Society; whose welfare I shall always deem it my duty to consult, and whose interests I shall always, with pleasure, advance and cherish. The intimate and interesting relation in which I stand to the Society, will not permit me to withhold any service in its behalf, by which, it may be supposed, that I can aid in accomplishing the valuable objects for which it was instituted. To this end, my Oration is submitted to the disposal of the Society.

Accept assurances of the respect and esteem with which I remain, Gentlemen, your friend and most obedient Servant,

J. ADAMS.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1834, by the Rev. J. ADAMS, in the Clerk's Office, of the District Court for the South-Carolina District.

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AN ORATION.

During the half century last past, much has been written on the causes of the numbers, wealth, power, and other resources which are usually supposed to constitute National prosperity. During this time, ancient principles have been examined anew, and antiquated maxims have been tested by the light of modern theory and more enlarged experience. It has equally been a period of scientific and of political revolution;—and if we have not found all the innovations, which have been introduced, to be, in the end, improvements; still no small good has been accomplished. If we have frequently been destined in the result, to feel the pain of disappointment, we have sometimes felt the encouraging influence imparted by success. By the writers referred to, we have been instructed, in what respects, and in what degree, commerce may be advantageously restricted, and how far it may best be left free; in what relations agriculture, commerce and manufactures stand to each other, and how far and in what ways, they ought to be respectively encouraged. The standard of value in a country, the elements of price, private and public revenue and expenditure, the balance of trade, the most profitable employment of capital, the theory and practice of banking, the policy of interest laws and colonial

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establishments, the expediency of making legal provision for the poor, and the effect of monopolizing companies on the general interest, have been laboriously investigated in reference to their effect on national prosperity. The policy of governmental interference and encouragement, has not been omitted in the careful industry which this class of writers have expended on their subject. Moreover, they have not neglected to inform us what classes of labourers are productive and what are unproductive; as also, the exact degree of merit, which, in this respect, each of these classes is entitled to claim. The vexed question of taxation from which so many modern revolutions have sprung, has been discussed in all its bearings, and in all its exciting aspects and relations. We have been taught that the merit of government consists much more in abstaining from doing evil, than in attempting to accomplish any positive good. On these, and the various kindred topics constituting the modern science of political economy, a multitude of treatises have been written:—a science which, almost more than any other, has attracted public attention of late years, under the belief that it embraces the most recondite elements of national resources and happiness.

In perusing the works and examining the principles of this class of writers, I have been frequently surprised, that they have ascribed national prosperity so much to physical, and so little to moral causes. Assuredly, the state of education in a country, the general diffusion of knowledge, the state of the arts, sciences and literature, refinement of manners and other social improvements, wise and salutary laws, the standard of public and private morals, civil and religious freedom, a just and well regulated government, war and peace, social and benevolent institutions, and the general prevalence of sound

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religious principles, must be at least as influential in promoting national prosperity, as a propitious climate, mineral riches, a soil fruitful in valuable productions, and the other physical causes to which the welfare of nations is more commonly ascribed. The physical advantages of Spain are superior to those of Great Britain; yet in respect to the prosperity which these countries respectively enjoy, they must be contrasted rather than compared. The physical condition of Italy has not changed since the time of the Romans; yet how unlike are the modern Italians, to those ancient conquerors who were nourished by the same soil. Physically considered, the north of Africa is not inferior to the south of Europe; yet, for the last thousand years, it has been the chosen abode of barbarism. Holland has every physical disadvantage with which it has pleased a wise Providence to try the energies of any people on earth; yet few countries exhibit a population so dense, and at the same time so comfortable in their circumstances; so many beautiful villages, towns and cities; manufactures so successful, a commerce so flourishing, and an agriculture so rich in its returns. Greece has not changed in its physical features since the time of Pericles, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aristotle and Epaminondas;—it is only in its degenerate race of inhabitants, that it fails of its ancient glory and renown. Palestine, though long since overspread by ignorance and superstition, still enjoys the same beautiful climate, is adorned by the same scenery, and is fertilized by the same rivers, as when in the time of the Hebrews, it abounded in corn and wine, and flocks and herds, and flowed with milk and honey,* and witnessed the miracles and predictions of the Prophets, the giving of the divine oracles to mankind,

* Joshua v. 6.

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the splendour of the reigns of David and Solomon, the building of the temple and the advent of the Messiah. Such comparisons might be multiplied a hundred fold; and if they do not furnish unquestionable proof, they raise a very strong presumption, that our writers on Political Economy have ascribed the prosperity of nations too much to physical circumstances and causes.

Fully impressed with the belief, that on this subject, moral causes have been too much unnoticed and disregarded; I propose to make use of the occasion furnished me by the appointment of this respectable Society;—to review the chief of these causes and trace their effects on the welfare of nations by the light of reason and history;—to mark carefully the conclusion to which I may be conducted by this review, illustrating it, at the same time, by historical references:—and to advert to the results and prospects which this conclusion may authorize us to expect and anticipate.

I. Can any one refuse to acknowledge the beneficial effects of every kind of useful knowledge, of a high standard of morals, of cultivated manners, of a wise and stable government, and of pure religious principles on the welfare of the nations of the earth? Or can any one be insensible to their supreme value, in advancing all the highest interests of a nation? In truth, are not these the most precious of all the blessings which a nation can enjoy, and do they not even constitute the mainspring of all its subordinate blessings? Whatever difficulty there may be in sustaining these positions, if in fact, there be any difficulty, must consist in finding any arguments and considerations more plain than themselves, by which to establish and illustrate them. In what way have a few thousands of Englishmen, labouring, too, under

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the most serious physical disadvantages, (especially the climate) been successful in obtaining dominion and preserving this dominion over the numerous millions (120,000,000,) of Eastern India? There can be but one answer; the moral characteristics of Englishmen; the moral causes to which I have adverted, have given them this immense superiority. Lord Bacon's saying, that knowledge is power, is equally true of all the moral attributes of nations and individuals. Who can fail to know, that the same qualities and the same acquirements, which raise an individual to distinction, must confer like distinction in the case of nations.

It is not always without use to dwell upon a very plain and familiar subject;—it may serve to concentrate and combine our scattered knowledge, and to give energy and purpose to our reflections. To this end, it may be well, very briefly to review the most efficacious of the moral causes which have influenced the condition and destiny of nations.

No one of these causes is more salutary in its influence, than education, and the general diffusion of knowledge among all ranks of a nation. An uneducated people must necessarily be without self-respect, without reputation, without spirit, without strength, without virtue, and without hope. The idea of rendering education universal among all orders of men, was introduced with the Chrislian religion, and does not appear to have been contemplated as possible, by any one of the ancient philosophers or statesmen; though they were not unacquainted with its meliorating and refining influence on the human character.

> Ingenuas didicisse, fideliter artes,
> Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.—Ovid.

Christianity considers the stated worship of God, and in-

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structions in its own principles essential to the welfare of every human being, of whatever name, complexion or nation he may be;—and therefore the plan of dividing every country into parishes, each with its church and minister, to secure this universal instruction, was cotemporary with its origin, and was intended to be coextensive with its promulgation and influence. While it was struggling for its life amidst the ten persecutions which it endured, the execution of this original design was impossible; but when it became the prevailing religion of the Roman Empire, churches and a stated ministry were established, first in the cities and great towns, then in the villages, and at length in the open country. Secular learning is essential to the prosperity, if not to the very existence of Christianity, and when this came to be perceived, schools were established in connexion with the churches. In instituting this connexion, however, the secular was held subordinate to the religious instruction of the parish, and such were the impediments of the times, that this wise, disinterested and patriotic object of the Christian clergy, was but very imperfectly attained. A partial failure, however, in the execution of their plan to render religious and secular education universal, does not, under the circumstances, diminish the high and exemplary merit of the attempt.

But universal instruction in knowledge purely human, was, as far as is known to me, first practically contemplated and actually carried into effect, when this country was colonized from Great Britain. As it was designed to establish communities of free citizens, it was indispensible, that all the members should receive such an education as might qualify them to discharge the duties, assume the responsibilities, and enjoy the privileges of freemen.

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One of the earliest Legislative acts of the colony of Massachusetts, runs thus:—"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoofe and benefit to any commonwealth; it is, therefore, ordered by this courte, that the Selectmen of every towne, shall have a vigilant eye over theire brethren and neighbours, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarisme in any of theire familyes, as not to teach theire children and apprentices, so much learning as may inable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capitall lawes."* The colony of Connecticut legislated on the same subject in 1650, and the object of the act, as the preamble says, was, that by making the people acquainted with the sense of the *original* scriptures, they (the scriptures) might not be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, and that learning might not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth.† And as knowledge is one of the main springs of enterprise and virtuous energy, what might not have been expected from the descendants of an ancestry, who esteemed education a want of life, as necessary as their daily bread? It must be remembered too, that all the colonies were, for many years, infant communities, maintaining a struggle even for their existence;—but this day of small things, was still, with them, a day of wise foresight and mature wisdom, and the schools, churches and colleges, which they then established, have proved to their posterity, a more valuable and enduring legacy, than they would have enjoyed in the inheritance of the mines of Mexico and Peru.

The same observations and the same course of argument may be applied with equal confidence, to the cul-

* Annals of Education, for October, 1833, p. 434.

† 1 Pitkin's History U. States, p. 151;—also Note A. at the end.

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tivation of the arts, both useful and ornamental,* and the higher branches of literature and science. We cannot well expect, indeed, that a time will ever come, when men will be universally skilled in the more difficult branches of learning, but that a certain number of men should be acquainted with all the departments of art and science, however refined and abtruse they may be, is indispensable to national character and advancement. Who can estimate the beneficial influence which England has derived, from the scientific labours of Bacon, Newton, Boyle and Locke? History furnishes examples of men, who have increased many fold the resources of their country, by a single discovery or invention. To make this manifest, the only difficulty consists in selecting illustrations. How much are we indebted to Arkwright, Watt and Fulton? Can we forget, that it is the simple invention of the cotton-gin by Whitney, which has poured upon us much of the wealth and abundance, which we enjoy? Columbus was superior to all his cotemporaries in geographical science, and this conducted him to the grand discovery of this continent. The Mississippi and its branches viewed in the light of a great highway, is of immense value to the millions who now inhabit, and will be of incalculable value to the hundreds of millions who must eventually inhabit the interminable plains

* Lord Kames insists, that the cultivation of a taste in the fine arts is a great support to morality, and that a just relish of the beautiful, proper, elegant and ornamental, in writing or painting, in architecture or gardening, is a good preparation for the same just relish of these qualities in character and behaviour.—*Elements of Criticism, vol.* 1. *Int. p.* 24. In Dr. Franklin's letter to Lord Kames, 17th August, 1761, he says, "I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals."—6 *Franklin's Works*, 51. This sentiment, however, is as ancient as the time of Polybius, who ascribes the barbarism of the Cynætheans, to a total neglect of music, owing to the careful cultivation of which, the other Arcadians were remarkable for their piety, humanity and hospitality.—*Lib.* iv. *Cap.* 3.

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fertilized by its waters, but this value chiefly springs from the invention of steam machinery, and the application of such machinery to navigation. As late as 1781, Gouverneur Morris, with all his rare sagacity and foresight, did not hesitate to say, that "the navigation of the Mississippi must forever be useless and impracticable."* No instance can show more strikingly than this, the superlative value of the arts and sciences to a nation. This same Mississippi, this same majestic Father of waters, is now ascended by more than two hundred steamboats, the navigation of which, only half a century since, was declared by a most sagacious statesman, to be "useless and impracticable." All the ancient nations, which were first in peace and first in war, were also first in arts, sciences and literature. This is seen in the history of Egypt, of Greece and of Rome:—it is seen in the history of all polished nations. The unexampled success of Great Britain in acquiring wealth and dominion, has been ascribed to her coal and iron mines; and it does not admit of question, that these are among the causes which have contributed to make her sit as a Queen upon ocean,† and to rank foremost among the nations of the earth. But of what avail would have been these same mineral riches, as productive as they have in fact been made of national resources and strength, if it had not been for English art and English science. Without these, they would have been of no more value than they were in the time of Cæsar and Agricola. But why should I further exhaust my own strength and your patience in illustrating a point so plain, as that the highest cultivation of th. arts, literature and science is an essential ele-

* Life by Sparks, vol. i. p. 225–6. † "I sit a Queen, and shall see no sorrow."—*St. John, Rev.* xviii. 7. Shakespeare calls Britain a "precious stone set in the sea."—*Richard II. Act* i. *Sc.* 1.

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ment of national wealth and strength? Who is not familiar with the benefits which they confer? We see them in the majestic ship which conveys us safely over the tumultuous ocean,—in the stately edifices, public and private, which adorn every country in which they find a dwelling place,—in the exquisite instruments and abtruse calculations, by which we are made acquainted with the displays of Almighty wisdom and goodness, to be seen in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth,—in the conveniences and products of skill which give comfort, refinement and elegance to life,—in the returns of agricultural skill,—in the rewards of commercial enterprise and manufacturing industry,—and in the imperishable renown which they confer on every nation by which they are respected, cherished, and honoured.

A stable government founded on the principles of freedom, and manifesting itself to the citizen in the enactment and administration of wise and salutary laws, is another most efficacious moral cause of the prosperity of nations. Thus far in the history of mankind, it has, in no instance, been found possible, to maintain public order and tranquility, to preserve the rights of life, liberty, estate and reputation, without the controlling, superintending arm of government. The problem presented for solution to those who, in any form, are called to the difficult undertaking of governing others, is, to secure the requisite obedience, and the greatest good of the greatest number, at the least possible expense of restriction, and especially of punishment; and when punishment is necessary, to select that, which of all others, is most salutary in its tendency, and otherwise least exceptionable. That government is most wise in its principles and salutary in its effects, which, with the fewest possible

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penalties and restrictions, furnishes the greatest number of encouragements (motives) to good conduct in the citizen. Under our institutions, we partially govern ourselves, and mutually aid in governing each other;—and consequently, our encouragements are as many, and the penalties and restrictions imposed on us, are as few, as slight, and as unexceptionable, as our passions and tempers will permit them to be. Who can doubt the effect of a wise government on national prosperity and happiness, when he compares the present condition of this country, with the state of things which existed between the close of the revolutionary war and the beginning of President Washington's administration? It has been well said, that we have a government, like the order of Providence, felt only in the blessings which it confers. Whose person, estate, and character are not secure under its protecting arm? Longinus in a passage well known to every scholar, has spoken, with the spirit of a freeman, of the encouraging, elevating and inspiriting effects of freedom; and of the discouraging, dispiriting and deteriorating tendency of despotism on a nation.*

The union of liberty with order is a treasure of inestimable worth. In this alone, are to be found the stability of governments, the prosperity of nations, the confidence of men of business, the regular employment of husbandmen, the improvement of the arts, and the steady growth of a people in knowledge, virtue and happiness. Anarchy and confusion are the severest forms of tyranny. Freedom, the most precious inheritance of nations, is itself chiefly valuable because it gives the only true security to persons and property; security in action and repose, security in the exercise of industry and in the enjoyment of its fruits, security alike from the

* De Sublim. Sec. 44.

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oppression of a ruler and the annoyance of an evil-disposed neighbour, security in the expression of opinion and in the conscientious discharge of the duties of religion. This is the true union of *Principatus ac Libertas;** the freedom of the people united with the just authority of the government; public order and tranquilty made consistent with the supremacy of law; the golden medium between two extremes, (*res dissociabiles*) in which Aristotle supposed all virtue to consist, and which the philosophical historian Tacitus, contemplated as the supreme and ultimate perfection of all governments.

Of all salutary laws, none act with more direct and intense effect on the mass of a nation, than the tenure by which lands are held in a country. When the Plymouth colonist wrote to his "loving cousin" in England, in 1621, one year only after the landing of the first pilgrims; "wee are all free-holders, the rent-day doth not trouble vs;"† he had begun to feel stirring in his breast the free, manly, independent, enterprising spirit, which has, at all times and in all countries, animated the breasts of those who have been owners of the soil, which they have themselves cultivated. What encouragement is given to industry and enterprise, by the reflection habitually recurring to the cultivators of the soil, that their property belongs to them in absolute right, that it is held at the pleasure of no Superior, and that the smallest fraction of it cannot be taken from them without their consent?

> Est aliquid quocunque loco, quocunque recessu,
> Unius sese dominum fecisse lacertæ.—*Juvenal, Sat.* III. 230.

How much energy, and how many virtues, has this single feeling imparted to the nations whose happy institu-

* Tacitus' Life of Agricola, c. 3. † 1 Hazard's Hist. Coll. 126.

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tions have permitted them to feel its strengthening and elevating influence? How opposite to this, is the condition of things under the restraining, suspicious and withering influence of a despotism? In almost all ages and countries, the private individual has been nothing and the government every thing. Vattel, though a comparatively late writer, refers to it as a thing remarkable, that in England, "mere citizens are seen to form considerable enterprises, in order to promote the glory and welfare of the nation."* What would this respectable writer have said of the case of Robert Morris, who, in a great revolutionary crisis, sustained the weight of a fallen national credit by the strength of his own arm; or of Stephen Girard, the benefactor of one of the largest States, and two of the largest cities of this Union, and the founder of a college with an endowment which kings might envy and might not rival.† And how many men of like spirit with Morris and Girard, must hereafter spring up in every country, which may be blessed with free institutions and a general diffusion of knowledge.

A high standard of public and private morals, and the general prevalence of sound religious principles and feelings, are among the most effectual of the causes which contribute to the welfare of nations. The relation which connects man with his Maker, is as much superior to all other relations which can be sustained by us, as the Almighty himself is superior to all the works of his hands. As it furnishes the purest and most sublime of all the sources of human contemplation; so it is the most fruitful in the consequences to which it gives rise. A suitable, i. e. a supreme regard to it, is equally our highest duty and our highest privilege. It can never be neglected, much less despised, without entailing conse-

* Law of Nations, B. I. Ch. 11. p. 63. † See Mr. Girard's Will, pp. 9–28.

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quences on those who may venture to neglect and disregard its claims, which they will in vain hope to escape. There is, moreover, no principle known to us, so fruitful in the choicest moral influences, as this supreme relation which connects us with the Almighty. No man who disregards the duties of this paramount relation, will be likely to have much regard to the claims of any other. It is a fact sustained by the history of our entire race; the historical records of every age and nation bear witness, that the prevalence of sound moral principles and the observance of moral obligations, has depended, more than on any thing else, on a general and well settled belief in the existence and attributes of a supreme Divinity and Governor of the universe. He who has created the earth, and enriched it with every product suited to the convenience and comfort of the nations which inhabit it, is not an unconcerned spectator of their conduct. We can make no mistake so great, as to suppose it a matter of indifference, whether individuals or nations acknowledge, and suitably fulfil the duties which spring from their relation to God. "All nations before him are as nothing, and are counted as the small dust of the balance."* The Lord is high above all nations, and his glory above the heavens.† He shall judge among the nations, and the nations shall bless themselves in him; and in him shall they glory.‡ His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion endureth throughout all generations.§ He (the Lord) is wise in heart and mighty in strength; who hath hardened himself against him and prospered?‖

Accordingly this dominion of the Almighty over the nations of the earth, has been recognised and acknow-

* Isaiah xl. 15, 17. † Psalm, cxiii. 4. ‡ Isaiah, ii. 4.—Jeremiah, iv. 2.
§ Psalm, cxlv. 13. ‖ Job, ix. 4.

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ledged by the wisest statesmen of all ages and countries.* Nor has this recognition of an over-ruling Providence in the affairs of nations, been confined to those who have been enlightened by the knowledge of divine revelation. The Romans were not blessed with revelation, but in the best times of that celebrated people, its most distinguished citizens did not neglect to be guided by the light and to listen to the admonitions of the "law of God written in their hearts;"† and their case verifies the assertion of St. Paul, that all men are without excuse for not knowing God, since his existence and attributes are clearly seen and understood by the things that are made.‡ Cicero says, "However much we may be disposed to exalt our advantages, it is nevertheless certain, that we have been surpassed in population by the Spaniards, in physical force by the Gauls, in shrewdness and cunning by Carthage, in the fine arts by Greece, and in mere native talent by some of our Italian fellow-countrymen; but in the single point of attention to religion, we have exceeded other nations, and it is by the favourable influence of this circumstance upon the character of the people, that I account for our success in acquiring the political and military ascendancy that we now enjoy throughout the world."§ And who can hesitate, when he examines the Roman writers, to believe with Cicero, that this was the chief source of those commanding qualities, which gave to that renowned people, the high distinction which they attained among the nations of the earth.‖

*See Note B. †Romans II. 15. ‡Romans I. 20. §Quoted by A. H. Everett.

‖This is well illustrated in North American Review for July, 1834, pp. 57—68. See also, Juvenal, Sat. VIII. There is no summary of sentiments appropriate to a republican superior to that which is contained in this satire.—Sat. X. especially l. 356—366.—Sat. XIV.—Persius Sat. III. especially l. 35—43.—Sat. V. In this beautiful satire, the author after rendering acknowledgments, in the most affectionate terms, to his instructer Cornutus, explains in what the

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It cannot be difficult to understand the resulting consequences, which could not fail to be produced, by the moral causes which I have enumerated, upon the nation blessed with their happy influences. Who, for instance, can set bounds to the prosperity of a nation composed of perfectly righteous individuals,—a nation in which every man would fully discharge his duty? The wisest of the land would be sent to its National Senate,—this Senate itself would be a conclave of sages,—for no unworthy motives would influence the election of its members,—no expectation of favour, no apprehension of displeasure, would warp a vote;—*detur digniori* would be the uncompromising maxim, in the choice of the man to whom the property, the liberty, the honour, the morals and the religion of the country were to be consigned, and whose solemn charge it would thenceforth become, to see, that in none of these great interests, the commonwealth should receive detriment at his hands. Politicians who would circumvent God, would subside into plain men who would fear him. Faction would be at an end, and the public weal would never be put in danger, for the purpose of embarrassing a rival, nor would principles be sacrificed under party struggles for place and power. New laws would be made, and old laws would be repealed or amended; for these, circumstances might require; still all this would be done with caution, as it would be remembered how much more easy it is to discover the mischief which an existing law does, than the mischief which it prevents,—that in the application of a system

nature of true liberty consists, and eloquently illustrates the doctrine of the Stoics, (*placitum Stoicorum*) that the wise man alone is a free man. There is a striking resemblance between this position, and St. Paul's doctrine; whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.—*See Romans*, vi. 14, 16, 17. But unquestionably, Cicero's treatise *De Officiis*, is the most valuable legacy which the ancients have left us on the subject of morals.

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or principle, the most sagacious reasoner may overlook some element in the calculation, which may be fatal to the success of his measures, however well intended,—that in the actual business of life, too much allowance cannot well be made for unforeseen impediments,—and that the gravest authority of his time in England,(Lord Strafford) declared, "how advised we ought to be of any innovation, considering that inconveniences are rather found by experience than foreseen by judgement." Debates, indeed, in such an assembly, might be dull; for sneers and sarcasms at the antiquated notions, stupid prejudices and ecclesiastical bigotry of by-gone generations, would probably be suppressed by one thankful recollection,—"*sic fortis Etruria crevit.*" Such a Senate, too, would have the cordial confidence and support of the country; because, however they might err, they would be known to act from public spirit and in singleness of heart, as sitting under the eye of the Governor of all things. With what promptness, moreover, would their laws be executed, appealing to a people united in their favour as one man. The chief energies and resources of most nations have been expended in exhausting wars; but such a nation could not be much exposed to these most destructive of national calamities, since it would be protected by the twofold panoply of strength in itself, and universal justice practised towards all other nations. Above all, every individual being secured in his person, his estate, and his good name, prepared by an extensive and skilful education for a wide sphere of useful labour and honourable enterprise, unembarrassed by unwise restrictions, and stimulated by the energies which freedom and knowledge are accustomed to impart;—in such a state of society, a nation might be expected to furnish an example of strength,

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of order, of renown, and happiness, such as has been seen in no age and in no country.*

II. I may well be apprehensive, that this review of the moral causes essential to the welfare of nations, as brief as it has been, has proved tedious and uninteresting, and it would have been an unjustifiable trespass on your time and attention, had it not been for the most valuable practical conclusion to which it has conducted me. It is chiefly for the sake of this conclusion, leading itself to important consequences, that I have ventured to make so large demands on your patience and indulgence. The conclusion to which I refer, and which I consider a law of society verified and sustained by the history of mankind is this:—Those nations which have been best educated, which have been the most moral and the most religious; that is, those which have been most distinguished for the great virtues of industry, temperance, moderation, moral courage, prudence, justice, benevolence, enterprise, foresight and good faith; whose members have habitually regulated their tempers and disciplined their passions; whose energies, physical, moral and intellectual, have been guided by virtue and knowledge, have always possessed an immense superiority in numbers, wealth, power, reputation and influence, over those who have lived in disregard of these virtues; much more over those who have practised the opposite vices. Moreover, the nations who most habitually and universally practise these virtues, must eventually exterminate all those (unless they change) by whom they are disregarded and despised.†

* Much of this paragraph is taken from the London Quarterly Review for May, 1830, pp. 190, 191, which by abridgment and otherwise, the author has adapted to the purpose of his argument.

† Bishop Butler has touched on the argument, that "reason and virtue have a tendency to prevail over confusion and vice;" but it is not known to the author,

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The truth of this inductive conclusion, so far as regards individuals, is recognised by Holy Writ,* and must be familiar to every man of ordinary observation and experience. We are habitual witnesses of the silent, but never ceasing influence of the principle among those who surround us. The indolent, the neglectful; more especially, the unprincipled and profligate, disappear one after another, and their places are supplied by the moral, the religious, the active and the enterprising. Nations are much further removed from our view than individuals; neither themselves, nor their destinies, nor the causes which accomplish their destinies, are subject to our direct observation and experience; we can see them only as they come before us in the light of history;—and this conclusion, therefore, in respect to them, may require confirmation.

It was the superior knowledge, courage, skill, and other peculiar virtues which the great crisis required, that qualified the ancient Greeks to withstand and successfully repulse the armies of Xerxes, of which the great Roman satirist has said;—

Credimus altos
Defecisse amnes, epotaque flumina Medo
Prandente Juv. Sat. 10. 176.

The example of the Romans is still more suited to the purpose of my argument. This wonderful people, which

that any writer has, before him, expanded and illustrated the argument. See Bishop Butler's Works, pp. 98-99, London, 1828. M. Arago, the great French astronomer, said, at the late great Edinburgh dinner,—"It is the men of study and thought, who in the long run govern the world. The grandest moral truths spring from their discoveries; it is their writings which render those truths fruitful, which popularize them, which make them penetrate the minds of the people at large, and impress upon them an indelible character of rectitude. The spirit of union among men of science, is the certain presage of the union of nations."—National Gazette, 8th Nov. 1834. See also Heeren's Politics of Ancient Greece, preliminary remarks, in which the reasoning appears to the author to be unsatisfactory.—*Ex. xx. 12.—Ps. 1.—Ps. xxxvii. 10. 34. 38, &c.—Prov. x. 25.—Ps. cxli. 10.—Ps. cxlv. 20.—Prov. ii. 22.—v. 22.

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have left traces of themselves, that must make known their renown to all coming generations, acquired their supremacy over the nations of the earth by their virtues, and lost it by their vices. We might be further instructed on this part of the subject, from the resources of ancient history; but modern history is still more rich in illustrations of a kind fitted to establish my position.

In the splendid career of discovery and colonization, which commenced in the 15th century, and has not yet reached its consummation, nations far advanced in civilization, in the arts and sciences, in knowledge generally, and above all, possessed of the true religion, and the virtues which are its offspring, were brought into direct intercourse with numerous tribes and nations, most of them having scarcely the first traces of civilization and knowledge, destitute of the arts and sciences, and all of them degraded by the vices and superstitions of heathenism. The Portuguese, Spaniards, English, French and Dutch, took a greater or less part in this career of discovery;—it was begun by the Portuguese on the coast of Africa; it soon reached the Cape of Good Hope; thence was not long in extending itself to India; and was eventually crowned with the discovery of this continent, the existence of which had been hitherto unknown and scarcely suspected. Colonization followed naturally in the train of discovery. The results of an intercourse thus suddenly opened between two classes of natious; the one civilized, literary, scientific, moral and religious; the other, exemplifying all the stages of advancement from the lowest savagism to semi-barbarism, are equally striking and instructive. The entire subject is worthy of the most full and philosophical investigation. All the preceding history of our race, does not present a field so favourable for tracing the effects of moral causes on the

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destiny of nations. Do not these results furnish convincing, nay, overwhelming evidence of the truth of the conclusion which I have attempted to establish and illustrate, that the welfare of nations is chiefly affected by education, literature, science, morals, government, and religion, rather than by climate, soil, situation, mode of living, and other physical circumstances and causes, as powerful as these may be. A brief summary of these results, must put this point in a very clear light.

The Portuguese discoveries on the coast of Africa, resulted not only in colonization, but in a traffic in the persons of the natives, in which all the other commercial nations soon came to participate, which subsisted more than three centuries and a half, and which has been condemned, only within a very few years, by the concurring voice of all Christian nations. In Eastern India, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, acquired dominions, of which they have been successively dispossessed by the English, who have acquired the sovereignty of countries fruitful in the richest productions, and containing more than a hundred millions of inhabitants. The circumstances and results of the Spanish colonization of this continent, may well be referred to, in illustrating the effects of moral causes on the prosperity of nations. The Spaniards were brought into intercourse not merely with savage tribes, but with the great and partially civilized Empires of Mexico and Peru. Still the result was the same;—they all submitted to the arts, the knowledge, the chivalry of Spain, or were exterminated.* But beyond question, the most instructive instance of colonization on record, as well as the most magnificent in

* See an Anniversary discourse before the Philosophical Society of South Carolina, by J. R. Poinsett, Esq. full of valuable information, drawn from the personal experience and researches of the accomplished author.

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its results, is the settlement of the present United States by the English. I trust I may dwell on this instance for a moment, for the purpose of particular illustration.

At the beginning, the English colonists, few and feeble, took up their residence in the midst of strong and warlike tribes of Indians, purchasing and cultivating the lands which the native proprietors were content to relinquish. The motives of the Indians in thus easily admitting the colonists among them, seem to have been, to procure with more readiness the articles of traffic which their wants required, and the aid of the strangers in the wars, which they almost perpetually waged with each other. The game of their broad forests, and the fish of their noble rivers, might still continue to furnish themselves with the same subsistence as heretofore; why might not the strangers, so superior to themselves in arts, in knowledge and in arms, be permitted to settle among them? What possible objection could occur to their purchase of lands, of which they (the Indians) had enough, and which were to them without use and without value? Unalloyed benefits alone, (in their view) could be anticipated from the residence of the strangers as their neighbours. All the arrangements, all the prospects were mutually satisfactory. All the facts of the settlement, especially all the written documents of the times, very distinctly shew the original expectation of the Indian and European races to have been, that as neighbours, they should live by the side of each other in the exercise of the offices of peace, friendship and good neighbourhood.* It was probably a long time, before it oc-

*See Williamson's History of Maine, vol. 11. pp. 93, 113, 114, 117.—Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. 1. pp. 16. 64 289. This last refers to an Indian deed, in which four Sagamores say, "we are inclined to have the English inhabit amongst us, as they are amongst our countrymen in the Massachusetts' Bay; by which means we hope in time to be strengthened against our ene-

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curred to either party, that they could not always continue to occupy the same country, side by side; and half a century appears to have passed away, before the conviction became general, that the one race must, in the natural course of things, eventually exterminate the other. In such a state of opinion and feeling, wars of extermination could not fail to be waged. Under these circumstances, moreover, it is not very important to ascertain, who were the aggressors;—the contest, (*certamen, uter esset, non uter imperaret*) was inevitable.

A suitable regard for historical truth requires me to say, that the policy of the United States, both when colonies and since their independence, has been conservative of the Indian race. The difference between our colonial policy and feelings towards the Indians, and the Roman policy towards the barbarous nations which hovered on the borders of the Empire, amounts to a contrast as striking as it is complete:* One of the principal objects of the English in settling this country, was, to christianize the natives; many and persevering endeavours were used to accomplish this object; these endeavours were not without fruit; many of the Indians were in fact converted

my the Tasteens. Likewise being persuaded, that it will be for the good of us, and our posterity, with a universal consent of our subjects," &c. See, also, Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, pp. 75, 76, 77; where William Penn declares the land which he had purchased, "to be thenceforth common to both people;" and says, that "in case of disputes arising between the two people, they should be adjusted by a jury composed of equal numbers of Indians and Englishmen."

* Tacitus, after relating that more than sixty thousand of the Germans were slain by the hands of each other, in the presence of the Roman army, says,—*Maneat, quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certé odium sui; quando urgentibus imperii fátis, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam. De Mor. Germ. C.* 33.—See N. American Review, for April, 1827, pp. 365-442; where in an instructive article ascribed to Secretary Cass, the conduct of the United States towards the Indians is earnestly and successfully vindicated,—also, the Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs, [H. Everett, chairman] to U. S. House of Representatives, 20th May, 1834: and similar report of 24th Feb. 1830, Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, Chairman.

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to the Christian faith. The most sincere and earnest efforts were made to prevent them from destroying each other by wars, and to introduce among them the arts and comforts of civilization and peace. Provision was made for their education in schools, and in the earliest colleges which were established in the country. One of the present colleges (Dartmouth) of New-England, was established *principally* to educate Indian youths.* At the beginning of the revolutionary war, they were earnestly exhorted by the U. States to remain neutral during the contest.† The same friendly and conservative policy towards the Indians, has been preserved, since the independence of the United States. The colonial regulations for this purpose, have been enlarged in number, and strengthened in efficiency. Still, after all this, and much more, the Indian nations have wasted away, not by an irreversible decree of the Almighty, but by a law of human society, equally uncontrollable and irresistible. The case of the Indians is a particular instance of the general principle, that educated, virtuous, industrious, enterprising, moral and religious nations, must eventually, in the order of Providence, destroy all other nations with which they are brought into intercourse, which are uncultivated by knowledge and degraded by vice and superstition. It is to no purpose to complain of the injustice of the Europeans, and the severe lot of the Indians; their extermination (unless they change) is inevitable, and cannot be long delayed;—we may compassionate their situation, we may in some measure relieve their distresses; it is our imperative duty to do this, but we cannot change the law of human society, which must eventually destroy them.

* 4 Wheaton's Reports, pp. 520. 522. 524. 535. 536. †See public journals of Congress for 13th July, 1775. See also, Journals for 3d December, 1777,—31st July, 1781. This last refers to the payment, by Congress, of the expenses of three Indian youths, then in a course of education at Princeton College.

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III. It still remains to advert to the prospects and results, which, the conclusion I have attempted to establish and illustrate, may authorize us to expect and anticipate.

"If we could look into the future," says an eloquent writer, "the past would probably lose much of its importance in our eyes; and our curiosity would be much more strongly excited, to ascertain the state of the world a thousand years hence, than its state a thousand years ago. But this power is denied us; and to form an estimate of the character and capabilities of mankind more comprehensive than the experience of a single generation can afford, we must apply to the retrospect of the past."* I may add, that when it is said, "it is not given to man to know the future;" the assertion must be received with some qualification. By a careful retrospect of the past, we may obtain the principles by which events are regulated, and by applying the principles thus obtained to the existing state of things and events, we come in some measure to anticipate the future. The husbandman looks with confidence to the future, for the former and the latter rain, and for a continuance of the seasons of seed time and harvest. Sagacious statesmen have sometimes anticipated the course of events for a long term of years.† By observing the laws which regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies, and applying the transcendental analysis to them, astronomers have made themselves acquainted with the condition of the heavens for a thousand years to come; and the formula may yet be integrated, which will show at one view the past, present, and future state

* See Lib. of Ent. Knowledge, Pompeii, vol. 1. p. 2.

† See Life and works of Fisher Ames, p. xvii.—Prior's Life of Burke, vol. 1. pp. 264. 265. 407.—Vol. 11. pp. 24, 40, 230.—Webster's Speeches, Boston, 1830. p. 378.—Sir Isaac Newton's anticipation of the discovery of the composition of water, and of the structure of the diamond are still more remarkable.

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of the solar system.* And, says Dr Abercrombie, "there is a uniformity in moral phenomena, which, though it may be ascertained with greater difficulty than the order of natural phenomena, we calculate upon with similar confidence when it has been ascertained."† We are not, then, entirely without a knowledge of the future, if we are willing to use the means necessary to attain it; and guided by the conclusion which I have attempted on this occasion to establish, we may anticipate several results in the future history of the world, of no ordinary interest.

The agricultural, commercial and manufacturing nations, must eventually in their growth, dispossess and exterminate all the nations which lead the hunting and nomadic modes of life. Also, the semi-barbarous nations of the earth, must eventually waste away and be destroyed by the more cultivated nations, or at least submit themselves to their dominion; unless they change their habits, and adopt the arts, the knowledge, the morals, and the religion which have rendered other nations so superior to them. To pursue agriculture, commerce, and the arts and sciences successfully, nations must have acquired a taste for settled residences, and must feel a willingness to submit to the restraints of right reason, and the control of law. Nor is it sufficient that they have become stationary in their abodes; wealth must have been accumulated, the means of subsistence must have become certain and easy, internal and international intercourse, both for traffic and for personal improvement must have become familiar, the arts and sciences must have become flourishing, before the people can have become much improved in understanding, refined in manners, softened by the practice of the mild, and invigorated by the practice of the manly virtues, or exalted by the love of well regu-

* See Edinburgh Review, vol. 28, p. 320. † Intellectual Powers, p. 163.

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lated freedom, and pure religious principles. These qualities are the essential elements of national prosperity; they neither accompany the hunting tribes in their rovings, nor are they found in the hut of the fisherman, nor in the tents of the Nomades of the desert. Savages, barbarians, and the half civilized must change their habits, or give way before the enterprise, the spirit, the energies of the nations whose characteristics I have delineated.

But we are not left to abstract argument on this subject. The Indian huntsman and fisherman of the American forests have vanished, or are still vanishing, before Englishmen and their descendants on this side of the Atlantic. The half civilized inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, are disappearing in the same manner, or are becoming incorporated with, or assimilated to, their Spanish conquerors. It is not more than a century, since the immense Russian Empire emerged from a state of comparative barbarism, impelled to such a change by a conviction that the superior power and influence of its neighbours, had been acquired by their superior civilization and knowledge.—Within the present century, the Turkish Sultan has evinced an anxiety to introduce, into his dominions, the arts and sciences of Christian Europe, apparently convinced that his Empire must decline and fall, unless it is saved by introducing the moral elements of national prosperity, which give strength and energy to the nations by which he is surrounded. To the same end, the Pacha of Egypt has manifested still stronger anxiety to avail himself of European improvements. *He has sent numbers of Egyptian youths to receive a European education, and has established, and is supporting at great expense, an institution in which professors are employed, to instruct the youth of the country in all the various arts, sciences,

* See note C., at the end.

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and employments known in Europe. But the British power acquired, and successfully perpetuated over the numerous semi-civilized millions of Eastern India, is the most signal proof which could be urged, of the supremacy which must eventually belong to intelligence, morals, and the Christian religion.

Again, universal education, the cultivation of the arts, sciences, and literature, the universal practice of the great virtues which bless society, adorn human nature, and exalt mankind, the preservation of civil and religious freedom and of peace, the securing of a just administration of government, and of the purest moral and religious sentiments, constitute equally the highest duty and the highest interest of all the nations of the earth. Still, nations have been very slow to understand, that either their chief duties or their chief interests have lain in this direction. The most cultivated nations have been but very partially educated.* In every nation the number of persons without education, has been very great. In no nation have the arts, literature, and the sciences, been known to more than a very few. Immense multitudes, have, in every age, passed through life, degraded by vices of every name, and profligacy of every description. Comparatively few men, have been examples of the great and shining virtues. Civil freedom has been confined to a few ages, and a few countries, and religious freedom is almost the growth of the times in which we ourselves have lived. How few countries have been blest with a just constitution of government, and with an equal administration of

* Mr. Bulwer in his France Pol. Lit. and Social, says, "in France, there is not more than one person in three who can read and write. But in England and Wales, taken upon an average, we find out of 14,000,000 nearly 7,000,000, that is, nearly one in every two, who receive education." Quoted in Walsh's National Gazette, 6th Nov. 1834. See also, Mr. Sullivan's discourse before the American Institute, at Boston, 22d August, 1833; note.

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wise and salutary laws. With what difficulty has the cause of pure morals, and undefiled religion always sustained itself in the world? The vindictive passions of men have reigned with unrelenting sway, and thus far in the history of the world, men have used their greatest endeavors, and have exercised their highest abilities in contriving the means of destroying each other.* Their choicest honours, also, have been reserved for those who have proved themselves the most successful destroyers of man, and the greatest devastators of his labours.

Moreover, the divine assurance, that Christianity, shall, in the end, universally prevail, and subject to its influence all the nations of the earth,† is confirmed by the course of argument which has been pursued; and if we had no such divine assurance, would be the necessary result of this argument. Not that the divine assurances need to be sustained by the arguments and confirmations of men, (God will accomplish his purposes and who shall hinder him?) but as there have always been men, who have assumed to be wise above what is written, who have placed more dependence on human reasonings than on divine assurances, who have been willing to weigh the doctrines of Scripture in the balance of their own understandings, and to test its declarations respecting future events by the measure of their own experience, an attempt to confirm the promised universal prevalence of

* It has been calculated in the Paris Quotidienne, that the French revolution from 1789 to 1815, cost a loss in lives, of 25,709,139 men, slain in battle, killed in popular tumults, or executed.—(*National Gazette, 23d Dec.* 1830.) It was the same in ancient times. Cicero speaks thus;—*Est liber Dicæarchi de interitu hominum, Peripatetici magni et copiosi; qui, collectis ceteris causis, eluvionis, pestilentiæ, vastitatis, belluarum etiam repentinæ multitudinis, quarum impetu docet quædam honinum genera esse consumta; deinde comparat, quanto plures deleti sint honines hominum impetu, id est, bellis ant seditionibus, quam omni reliqua calamitate. De Officiis, Lib* II. *c.* 5. † Mat. XXVIII. 19, 20.—Revel. XI. 15.—XIV. 6, 7.

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Christianity by argument, may be justifiable and useful.

Christianity enjoins the conscientious practice of every virtue which can elevate and adorn the human character, and fit men for action in the widest sphere, and under the influence of the noblest principles. She enjoins, under pain of the everlasting displeasure of the Almighty, purity of person and mind, the most impartial justice towards all men, sympathy and good will coextensive with human wants and human suffering, industry, the strictest integrity, and the firmest control over those passions, which are accustomed so much to disturb the peace of society, and destroy the happiness of mankind. Christianity, I say, *enjoins* all these virtues, and many more;—but in using this term, I do her injustice,—she *requires* the habitual practice of all these virtues, as the only satisfactory evidence which she admits, of a title to the rewards held out by her, in prospect, to her disciples. "The tree is known by its fruit,"—such is the severe and uncompromising test which she imposes on the sincerity of all those who embrace her cause. If, then, there is any truth in the course of reasoning which I have advanced,—Christianity, purifying and elevating as she is, in her spirit and effects, holding no compromise with vice, and aiming at the highest good of mankind, must, in the end, prevail universally among all the nations of the earth.*

* We may arrive at the same result in still another way;—From very early times, so far as we can trace any thing in the records of history, the number of men who have lived and acted upon sound moral and religious principles, has been slowly, but continually increasing. This number must continue to increase from age to age; because, all the causes which have produced the past and present number of such men, must still continue to produse the same result. These moral causes, also, have a tendency to become continually more strong and efficacious. The impediments, moreover, which have hitherto obstructed their operation, must be diminished, as law and public order prevail more generally. As the causes, then, increase in strength and efficiency, and the obstructions regularly diminish, the effects must increase in a multiplied proportion; and, thus,

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The regard which every good man and sincere patriot entertains for his country, resembles in no small degree, the strong and peculiar feeling which he has towards a parent, venerable alike for his years and his virtues.* It is natural and reasonable, then, guided by the principle which I have been pursuing, to form anticipations of the destiny of our own country. For all the purposes of my argument, the people of the United States may be regarded as a branch of the British nation. We are British in our original, in our literature, in our law, in our fashions, in our habits of feeling, and modes of thinking and living, substantially so in our government, and entirely so in our religion. We live under similar physical and moral influences with the people of Great Britain; these influences have given us the virtues which have made the British name renowned in the remotest corners of the earth. A slight reference to some past facts in our history, will indicate what we may reasonably expect in future.

The people of the United States, have, since the establishment of their independence, been brought into rivalship with the British, on their eastern and northern line, and with the French and Spaniards on their southern and south-western frontiers. The result is instructive. On the British frontier, where we have been met by British morals, skill and enterprise, we have not gained a single foot of ground, though the war of 1812 gave us the best possible opportunity of so doing; while on the other side, even in times of unbroken peace, we have obtained Louisiana and Florida, territories as extensive as the original U. States. No small portion of the population of Texas is un-

Scripture, reason and analogy combine in the assurance, that Christianity will ultimately prevail among all nations.

* *Patria communis est omnium nostrûm parens. Cicero in Catilinam*, 1. 7. Again, *cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est. idem, De Off. Lib.* 1. *c.* 17.

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derstood to be of American origin; and this fine country is rapidly filling up with American emigrants. If the Mexicans do not cease from their state of anarchy, and exchange their career of perpetual revolution for the arts of peace, and a settled order of things, it is not difficult to foresee what the event must be. The Anglo-Americans then, must eventually inhabit nearly all North America. Moreover, if we look towards the extensive and fruitful regions of British India, and Austral Asia, we shall be further instructed, what anticipations we are to form, of the countries hereafter to be inhabited by the descendants of Englishmen, and of the extension of the English language, with all the intellectual and moral treasures which it has accumulated, by having been made, for a long series of ages, the conservative vehicle and depositary of the business, the amusements, the reflections, and the researches of a nation so profound, so energetic, and so enterprising, as the inhabitants of the British Islands.

In conclusion, I may permit myself to advert to the doctrine which represents all those who are devoted to the intellectual, moral, and more especially the religious interests of mankind, as unproductive labourers, burthens on society, consuming much and producing nothing, mere *fruges. consumere nati*, participating in the benefits of society without making any corresponding return. This doctrine is part of a system, whose object it is, to degrade human nature, which represents the body to be essentially the man, and the gratification of the appetites and passions to be the great purpose of human existence. It is part of a system which contemplates man as connected with no superior power,—which represents this life as the only stage of human existence, and of consequence, excludes from all consideration, the rewards and punishments of an hereafter. It is part of a system which attempts

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to exclude an over-ruling Providence from the universe, and by confounding right and wrong, merit and demerit in human actions, to spread an Egyptian darkness over the entire region of morals. Moreover, it is part of a system, which, during the last half century, has shaken society with convulsions before unknown, and has brought disgrace almost indelible, on the great cause of free institutions. Under its blighting influence, human virtues have been few and of dwarfish growth, while it has been prolific of enormous crimes. Finally, it is part of a system, which, undermining the foundations and overthrowing the pillars of social order, as well as destroying the principles of individual virtue, cherishes in its disciples, arrogance and insolence of temper, a restless passion for change, impatience of subordination, complacency in their own superior wisdom; and a vain pretension of emancipating mankind, from the restraints of a religion, the only effectual curb upon the "unruly wills and passions of men;"—from the restraints of a religion, which cherishes humility untainted by meanness, dignity unstained by pride, contentment with the allotments of Providence, passions pure and calm, habitual serenity; which, moreover, imparts powerful consolation in sorrow, unshaken fortitude amid the changes and perturbations of human affairs, and the full enjoyment of life undisturbed by the dread of dissolution, or the distressing apprehensions of an hereafter.

I have thus, gentlemen, in the midst of infirm health, and under the pressure of many cares, much business, and severe domestic affliction, performed the duty which your favorable regard assigned to me. I am well persuaded of the importance of the subject which I have undertaken to treat;—it seemed to me, that the influence of moral causes on the prosperity of nations, required a

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more full developement than it has hitherto received, at the hands of any writer. It has been accomplished in a manner little satisfactory to myself, and I have much reason to fear, that I may have been still less successful in satisfying your expectations. But at the "unanimous call of the Graduates of the College," I could not permit myself, from personal inconvenience, to decline any labor, by which they supposed I might be useful. To keep alive your interest in this infant institution, to hail it with the voice of encouragement amidst the difficulties and discouragements which beset its way to enlarged usefulness and distinction, and to cherish and strengthen the fraternal regard, which you have contracted for each other in the labours, employments and successes of a common and most interesting pursuit, I understand to be among the more prominent objects for which you have associated. As the first anniversary orator of the Society, however, I am not insensible of the peculiar responsibility which I have incurred. Perhaps, I ought, also, to be apprehensive lest the willingness I have manifested to perform the appointed service, may be more than compensated by the imperfections which the execution may betray, and by the faulty example I may have set, to those who may succeed me in the similar appointments hereafter to be made. I commend my imperfect effort to be useful to you, to your candour and indulgence.

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NOTES.

(A.—p. 9.)

The author presumes that some further details on this subject will be interesting.

In 1647, the Legislature of Massachusetts further enacted, that, "every towneship having fifty howsholders, shall forthwith appointe one within theire towne, to teach all such children as shall resorte to him, to read and write;—and that every towne having one hundred familles or howsholders, shall sett up a grammar schoole, where youths may be fitted for the university."—*Annals of Education, for Oct.* 1838, *p.* 484. A free school "for the teaching and nurturing of youth," was established in Boston in 1635. This was within five years from the first settlement of the peninsula of Boston, when the rudest wants of its inhabitants were yet very inperfectly satisfied. This first school intended for universal education, appears to have been established under the auspices of JOHN WINTHROP, the first governor of the colony, and was the foundation of the free schools, and of the popular education of New England. The Massachusetts' act of 1647, must have also spoken the sentiments of New Hampshire at that time, since from 1641 to 1680, that colony was united with Massachusetts. In the colonial laws of New Haven, published in 1656, it is ordered that the magistrates shall have a vigilant eye from time to time, that all parents and masters endeavor, that all their children and apprentices may obtain at least so much education, as to be able to read the scriptures, and other good books in the English language.—*Pitkin's Hist. of U. States, vol.* 1, *p.* 152. In 1663, "it was proposed by the General Court of Plymouth, to the several townships within their jurisdiction, as a thing meriting their serious consideration, that some course may be taken, that in every town there may be a school-master set up to train children to reading and writing."—*Mass. Hist. Col. 2d series, vol. 4th, p.* 79. And in 1677, the General Court of the same colony, made the same enactment with the previous one of Massachusetts, (1647) respecting grammar schools, declaring very truly, that "the maintenance of good literature doth tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics."—*Idem, p.* 83. The celebrated Dr. COTTON MATHER, in making known the reasons why the settlement of N. England was undertaken, says, 5. "The schools of learning and religion (in England) are so corrupted, as (besides the insupportable charge of education) most children, even the best, wittiest, and of the fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted and utterly overthrown, by the multitude of evil examples, and licentious behaviours in these seminaries."—*Magnalia Christi Americana, v.* 1, *p.* 65, *edition* 1820. And it may be well to observe, as the fact may not be known to all the author's readers, that in early colonial times, it was not without example to send young men from England, to be educated at Harvard college, *see Pierce's Hist. of Harvard University, p.* 8. which, as a place of education, must have had similar attractions with Marseilles in the time of Agricola, as being "*locum*

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Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum, ac bene compositum."—*Tacitus' Life of Agricola, c.* 4. In 1710, and 1712, the legislature of South Carolina passed acts for establishing a free school in Charleston, for the use, as the title says, of the inhabitants of the State. The act of 1712 occupies eight folio pages, and contains various provisions;—the master was required to understand the Latin and Greek languages; he was to have a salary of £100 per annum; and also to enjoy all the lands and buildings appropriated to the use of the school;—was to have assistants, &c. "As a further encouragement for the instructing of the youth of the province in useful and necessary learning," the same act, (sec. xxi.) appropriates £10 per annum, to be paid in quarterly payments, from the public treasury, to every school-master who might settle himself in any parish of the province. Also, each parish was authorized to draw, from the same source, £12, towards building a school-house in each of the parishes of the province.—*See Trott's Laws of S. Carolina*, pp. 168, 222.—and *Ramsay's Hist. of S. Carolina*, vol. II. p. 354. These acts are highly honourable to our ancestors;—they were passed twenty years before they had the convenience of a common newspaper.—*Manuscript letter of Benjamin Elliott, Esq. to the author, 26th July*, 1834. It appears, that no legal encouragement was given to elementary education in Virginia during its colonial state, as was the case in this, and in the Northern colonies.—*See American Quarterly Register*, vol. v. p. 321. Indeed, sixty-four years after the first settlement of Virginia, Sir William Berkley, Governor of the province, wrote to England thus;—"I thank God, that there are no free-schools nor printing presses here; and I hope we shall not have them here these hundred years; for learning hath brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing hath divulged them in libels against the best goveraments."—*Idem. v.* 7. *p.* 148.

It is not known to the author, that the salutary tendency of education, has ever been questioned in this country, from any respectable quarter;—it was, therefore, with considerable surprise, that he observed this tendency seriously drawn in question in the late debate on prison discipline, (June 26, 1834,) in the British House of Lords. In this debate, Lord Wharncliffe stated it as his opinion, that the moral effect of popular education, had been unfavourable in every country, and in support of this opinion, he referred to the report of the French Commissioners on the state of education in the United States. He said, these Commissioners declared it to be the result of their enquiry, that the more knowledge was diffused, the more crime was increased. In this opinion, he was earnestly opposed by Lord Chancellor Brougham, who argued, that the conclusion of the French Commissioners, although proposed in dogmatical terms, was entitled to no weight. He said, "the tendency of knowledge,—that is, its ultimate tendency, was, to improve the habits of the people, to better their principles, and to amend all that constituted their character. Principles and feelings combined, he said, made up what is called human character. And that the tendency of knowledge was to amend this character by the operation of knowledge, and in proportion to its diffusion, there could be no doubt. Its tendency was to increase habits of reflection, to enlarge the mind, and render it more capable of receiving pleasurable impressions from, and taking an interest in, mat-

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ters of other than mere sensual gratification. This process operates likewise on the feelings, and necessarily tends to improve the character and conduct of the individual, to increase prudential habits, and to cultivate, in their purest form, the feelings and affections of the heart." The entire debate will richly repay a perusal.—*See National Gazette, 19th and 21st Aug.* 1834. It appears to the author, that the truth on this subject, was well expressed at the late meeting of the British Association for the advancement of Science at Edinburgh: to wit, "That education is not always a sufficient guarantee against the commission of crime, but is a mighty instrument for either good or evil, according as it is directed; and that the great object of education ought to be the cultivation of the moral feelings."—*Nat. Gaz. 4th Nov.* 1834. Whatever the author has said, in this Oration, of knowledge as an element of national prosperity, has rested on the assumption, that it is accompanied and directed by sound moral principle.

(B.—p. 17.)

It was the author's original intention, to have reviewed somewhat extensively the opinions both of ancient and modern philosophers and statesmen, in regard to the intervention of an over-ruling Providence, in the affairs of men. Finding, however, that he is in some danger of publishing a volume, when he intended to publish a small pamphlet only, he abstains. He takes leave, however, to refer his readers to a sermon preached by him, before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the diocese of South-Carolina, 2d edition; notes E. & I. pp. 35. 58, where the sentiments of the Congress of the United States on this subject, may, to some extent, be seen. And if the reader, guided by the references there given, will resort to the documents contained in the journals of Congress, he will find much that is valuable.

(C.—p. 29.)

The following statements made by Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE, in an Address to the Asiatic Society, in England, are so valuable in themselves, and so illustrative of the author's argument, that he has thought it right to reprint them.

"The Pacha of Egypt, one of our honourary members, a chief of a clear and vigorous mind, observing the advantages which European States have derived from a similar policy, has publicly encouraged the introduction into Egypt, of all those arts and sciences, which are calculated to improve the understanding of the people, to mitigate the effects of their religious feelings, and to secure the stability of the local government.

"He has assimilated his army, and his navy to those of Europe, and subjected them to European discipline; he has formed corps of artillery and engineers, on European principles; he has attached regular bands of military music to each of his regiments, with European instructors, who teach the Arab musicians, according to the European notes of music, to play on European instruments the marches, and airs of England, France and Germany;—a short distance from Cairo, he has established a permanent military hospital, and placed it under European surgeons, and the same rules as prevail in the best regulated hospitals in Europe; and he has formed a school of medicine and anatomy, in which not only botany, mineralogy, and chemistry are taught, but human bodies are publicly dissected

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by students who profess the Mohammedan religion, and who are publicly rewarded in the heart of a great Mohammedan population, according to the skill and the knowledge which they display in their different dissections. At Alexandria he has established a naval school, in which the Mohammedan students are nstructed in the several branches of geometry, trigonometry, mechanics, and astronomy, connected with naval architecture and the science of navigation ; and a dock yard, under the control and superintendance of an European naval architect,distinguished for his talents and his skill, in which, besides frigates, and other vessels of smaller dimensions, four ships of the line, three carrying 110 guns, upon two decks, and one of 130 guns, have been recently built: he has opened the Old Port, which was formerly shut against them, to all Christian vessels. He has encouraged the formation of regular insurance offices; and authorized Christian merchants to acquire a property in lands, houses, and gardens. He has employed an English civil engineer of great eminence, on a very liberal salary, to improve all the canals in the country, and the course of the Nile. He is about to construct carriage roads from Alexandria to Caïro, and from Alexandria to Rosetta and Damietta; and M. Abro, the cousin of his minister, is about to establish on them public stage coaches, built on a model of one sent to him by a coach-maker from this country ; he has introduced steamboats, which navigate the Nile ; and steam engines, which are used for cleansing and deepening the bed of that river, and for various other public works. He has patronized the employment, by Mr. Briggs, of two Englishmen, taken for the purpose from this country, in boring for water in different parts of the desert; and he has discovered, through their operation, some very fine water in the desert between Caïro and Suez. He has encouraged the growth of cotton, indigo and opium; and the former of these productions is now a great article of trade between Egypt and England, France and Germany. He has established schools in the country, for the instruction of all orders of his people, in reading, writing, and arithmetic ; he has sent, at great expense to himself, young men, both of the higher and lower ranks of society,to England and France, for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge; those of the higher rank, in those branches of science and literature which are connected with their service in the army, the navy, and the higher departments of government; those of the lower, in those mechanical arts which are more immediately connected with their employment as artisans and manufacturers He has constituted a public assembly at Caïro, consisting of a considerable number of well informed persons, who hold regular sittings for forty days in each year, and publicly discuss for his information, the interests and wants of his different provinces. He patronizes the publication of a weekly newspaper in Arabic and Turkish, for the instruction of his people. And, finally, he protects all Christian merchants, who are settled in his country, not only in time of peace, but also in time of war; and afforded the Christian merchants, who were settled at Alexandria and at Caïro, a memorable instance of his determination to adhere under all circumstances to this policy, by informing them, as soon as he had received intelligence of the battle of Navarino, that their persons and their property should continne as secure as if no such event had occurred."

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